

MAYOR AND---3 MANAGER

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THE MAGAZINE OF MUNICIPAL MANAGEMENT

GUEST EDITORIAL



Robert E. Meyner

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT PUBLICATION for the working municipal executive is particularly important and timely. The title MAYOR AND MANAGER is appropriate.

As the functions of the working chief executive expand, his problems become so time-consuming that a "manager" becomes virtually a necessity. The working mayor must place a substantial amount of responsibility on someone else when it comes to handling the housekeeping problems of a municipality. Thus, a manager is a logical and proper person to assume this responsibility.

The manager may be called administrator, supervisor, business manager, or city manager. Titles may be different in municipalities, but the functions are similar. The title of city manager is well known throughout the United States, but New Jersey has but a limited number of city manager municipalities. There are probably more municipal administrators in New Jersey described by some title other than manager. Rapid growth in many New Jersey municipalities has produced a definite need for a system vesting responsibility with some individual who reports to the mayor and the governing body.

New Jersey has found that some municipalities and governing bodies do not desire to delegate traditional duties of the governing body to an individual. Nevertheless, the management field has great possibility in our municipalities. The next decade will, I feel, find more and more municipalities making provision for an administrative head who will be responsible for detail, thus allowing the chief executive more time to work with the governing body in formulating policy and providing better administration.



Governor of New Jersey

MAYOR AND MANAGER

THE MAGAZINE OF MUNICIPAL MANAGEMENT

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Cover Illustration

Mayor Leo P. Carlin receives a citation from Mrs. Marion Murrill of the Commission on Group Relations for initiating the survey of changing neighborhoods, thus making Newark, New Jersey America's first city to undertake such professionally controlled research in individual and group relations.

(For details see page 4.)

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A policeman at work in a changing neighborhood helps children returning from school.

MAYORS, MANAGERS and city administrators in American urban centers are faced with city growing pains which relate to the age, population and land area of their cities. Newark, New Jersey contains a population of approximately 463,000 persons in a land area of 23½ square miles. To our knowledge, there are few if any other cities of the same population density. This fact sharpens the focus on the changing neighborhood pattern which is made possible by a flight to suburbia of the economically advantaged white citizenry of our city.

SUBURBIA BECKONS

Most of the old and large metropolitan centers on the East Coast face the same problem. Urban renewal, conservation and rehabilitation techniques, as well as total city re-planning procedures are helping to ameliorate some of the basic problems of over-crowding, urban blight and inner-core decay. But even so extensive an operation as is planned in the concept of a "New Newark" does not answer all the questions in the souls and minds of city residents. They are caught in the dilemma of a desire to move up the ladder of social and economic success into the suburbs, and the practical reality of remaining in their old neighborhoods and adjusting to new Negro neighbors who many think, lower their prestige and status in the eyes of their associates and their friends. It is almost as if the old American melting pot tradition is coming into conflict with the materialistic success drive to move "up the ladder" and prove

that you and your children will have the advantages of clean, new homes, better schools, and all the virtues of suburban, middle-class living. This article will attempt to investigate a few of these dilemmas and myths as they relate to the problems facing our cities today.

NEGRO POPULATION EXPANDS

In Newark, for instance, the Negro population has increased approximately 90% since the 1950 census. This means that the percentage of Negroes living within the metropolitan land area is now approximately 25-29% of the total. It goes without saying that numerous white families have moved out of the city. Their departures have given much needed living space to Negro families who find it exceedingly difficult to move into most of the new developments spawning throughout the suburbs.

MIGRATION INCREASES

It appears that a south to north migration pattern is a mid-century phenomenon affecting practically all large cities north of the Mason-Dixon Line. The Negro of the South, as he becomes more cultured and educated can no longer suffer the daily indignities of his former obsequious "Uncle Tom" existence. He becomes restive and ultimately desirous of a place to move where he may for the first time in his life be considered a citizen having the right to vote and sending his children to a decent school, as well as procuring a good job for himself. He and his counterparts

are moving north in droves to escape the stigma of total inferiority foisted upon them by southern culture.

As the migration continues in its relentless increase, Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Cleveland, New York City, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Newark, and many other Northern cities are bulging at the seams with this migratory population.

Because too many whites have been reared on a diet of Negro inferiority, on the myth of property devaluation, and the countless other American sociological fallacies of superiority and inferiority, the situation seems almost insoluble.

THE PLAN

Here is how one city is searching for a solution:

The City Council of Newark, New Jersey early in 1957, upon the recommendation of Mayor Leo P. Carlin appropriated \$33,500 for research into the behavior patterns and emotional feelings of the various racial, religious and ethnic groups which make up the city. The basic purpose of this unusually large allocation of funds for scientific investigation grew out of a desire of the Mayor's Commission on Group Relations to chart its education and action program with greater knowledge of the subtle relationships which exist among the residents of this metropolitan center.

For several years Walter D. Chambers, assistant director of the Commission, and I investigated all known approaches to this kind of intergroup community survey. As the staff gathered pertinent information, it passed it on to the Commission in its regular monthly meetings and worked with the special subcommittee on the Community Survey.

It was not long before both staff and Commission realized they had a "beast by the tail." The impending responsibility began to loom up in its true proportions, and the Commission rightfully determined that it first needed a preliminary survey of intergroup relations which

"The greater Newark and its environs is the 9th largest metropolitan area in the U.S.A., with a population of 2,200,000.

would point up and describe the major problems facing the Commission, the City Council and the Mayor.

PRELIMINARY SURVEY

Five organizations had submitted their plans for this overall community research. The Commission decided that Chester Rapkin and Associates appeared best qualified to handle the preliminary aspects of the total project. Dr. Rapkin was hired in May, 1957 and his team of researchers completed the task in three months with the publication of a report known as "Group Relations in Newark—1957."

On the basis of this survey, the Commission decided that one special aspect



by Daniel S. Anthony, Director Mayor's Commission on Group Relations, Newark, N. J.

does your City measure up to the American Ideal

of community life was immediately important to the continuing peace and well-being of this city. This was the constantly changing pattern in Newark's many neighborhoods. The Rapkin Report indicated that racial and religious relations in Newark appeared to be more healthy and positive than in most other northern American communities. The report showed that the actual Negro population was approximately 40,000 more than estimated in the 1950 Census. It also indicated that the dispersion of Newark's Negro residents was greater than in most northern urban centers.

Statistically, the survey told the Mayor's Commission that Negroes are at present living in a majority of the census tracts in this city and that as they move into new neighborhoods, there is a tendency for some white residents to move out. The end result of this transition in many of Newark's neighborhoods is an increase in city-wide Negro population and a decrease in total white population.

Returning to the title of this article, "Does Your City Measure Up To The American Ideal?" it begins to look as if Newark is approaching that amorphous ideal, if indeed, we can even use the term "ideal" as a yardstick. Let us, therefore, digress for a moment to define our terms more precisely.

MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL

If the American citizen believes that all men are created equal and that the Constitution and Bill of Rights are the major bulwarks of our freedom-loving society, then to be sure, he will be forced to admit that any citizen of our nation

should be entitled to live any place he chooses. Unfortunately, this is not and has not been true. Despite almost 2,000 years of the Judeo-Christian tradition, our ancestors and progenitors have not taught us to love our neighbor as ourselves; and to do unto others as we would have them do unto us.

Certainly, we are working toward that goal and fortunately the major religious bodies of America have become far more forthright in their adherence to the religious ethic and the basic morality of freedom to live where one wants.

SOUTHERN VIEWPOINT

In this connection, it is rather ironic that the southern half of our nation which by all standards of measurement appears to be more overtly religious and churchgoing, is the very half which will not even condone integration in schools.



Frank Ornstein of Market Planning Corporation explains the community survey to Walter Chambers, assistant director of the Mayor's Commission on Group Relations and Mrs. Seymour Strum, one of the field interviewers.

In this respect, the South is not only rebelling against the Constitution and the Bill of Rights but also its own religious birthright; and some of it is now openly flouting the 1954 Supreme Court decision on integration.

At this juncture, one might well ask a question, "Is the South, nonetheless, being a bit more honest and consistent than the North?" Considering the historical implications of the southerner's frame of reference in relation to racial matters, the white southern citizen is defending an anti-democratic policy which many northerners still accept rather than reject. In a way, the southern white has every right to point to the northern white and say, "Clean up your own backyard before you start telling us how to live our personal lives." "You have so many segregated schools in the North, how can you afford to cast the first stone at us? When you make open occupancy housing a reality in the North, then only will you have normally integrated schools. We in the South do not want integrated schools because they may lead to open housing which we are not ready to accept."

ATTEMPTS AT HARMONY

It is the problem growing out of this kind of general psychology which has led more than 30 American cities north of the Mason-Dixon Line to form Civil Rights Commissions, Intergroup Committees, Friendly Relations Councils and the like, for the express purpose of maintaining racial, religious and ethnic group harmony within their communities and reducing prejudice and discrimination

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wherever they exist. At least 14 states now have laws which bolster the Bill of Rights and spell out violations of the American way of life. However, only in the case of New York City has a local governing body seen fit to pass a law which allows any person to live almost anywhere he wishes.

In plain truth, no city in the U.S.A. has as yet passed a law which says that the Negro's dollar has the purchasing value of the white man's dollar. Even in New York City, as fine as the Sharkey-Brown-Isaac's Law is, it does not give a Negro the right to buy property or to live *anywhere* he desires. So, when we talk about the American Ideal, we are talking about a future goal toward which every person of goodwill must work.

WHAT IS NEWARK DOING?

At the present time, thirty well-trained interviewers—white, Negro and Puerto Rican, Catholic, Protestant and Jew and people of many ethnic groups—are conducting 4,000 carefully planned interviews. Each interview lasts more than one hour, to find out what individuals like and don't like about people and life in Newark. These interviewers have been carefully oriented to their task by the professional personnel of Market Planning Corporation, a research subsidiary of McCann, Erickson, one of the world's largest advertising agencies. [Note: Market Planning Corporation was chosen by the City of Newark in competition with 4 other bidders to do the Survey of Changing Neighborhoods. This is, to our knowledge, the first time any city government has contracted a professional research organization to make so extensive a study of intergroup relations. The \$30,000 contract calls for a completion of the task by Dec. 30, 1958.]

Possibly the most important major question which will be answered when all of the facts and feelings have been tabulated will be: "How does Newark stand today and where does it appear to be going tomorrow?" These questions, of course, are specific interrogations which will be answered in hundreds of different ways by people because of their differing background, environment, social consciousness, desire for status and prestige, their need for social change and their pattern of prejudice. Possibly the reader will get a more concise picture of our goals if we include here several of the questions in the interview schedule which will be asked of white residents. (There are different questionnaires for Negro and Puerto Rican citizens). Here are typical questions:

5. Which of the following describes best the way you feel about living in this neighborhood?

- It is a good neighborhood to live in
- It is good in some ways but not in others

c. It is not a very good neighborhood to live in.

What is it that you feel is not good about this neighborhood? Anything else?

What do you think should be done about this? Who should do it?

6. Now, I have some questions on how people get along together in Newark. From what you know, would you say people of different religious beliefs in Newark always get along together, once in a while do not get along, or often do not get along?

- Always get along
- Once in a while do not
- Often do not

Which religious groups? In what ways do they sometimes not get along? What happens? (Find out who is responsible)

7. Now, how about people of different races? Would you say people of different races in Newark always get along together, once in a while do not get along, or often do not get along?

- Always get along
- Once in a while do not
- Often do not

Which races? In what ways do they sometimes not get along? What happens? (Find out who is responsible)

8. Would you say that either Negroes or Puerto Ricans or both are moving into this neighborhood at present? Which?

- Negroes
Puerto Ricans
Both
Neither
Don't know

(If Negroes or Puerto Ricans or both): Which of these statements best describes the way you feel about their living around here?

- On the whole there is little or nothing I dislike about having Negro (Puerto Rican) neighbors.
- There are some things I like and some things I dislike about having Negro (Puerto Rican) neighbors.
- On the whole, there are many things I do not like about having Negro (Puerto Rican) neighbors.

What are the things you do not like about having Negro (Puerto Rican) neighbors? (Be sure to indicate whether they are talking about Negroes, Puerto Ricans or both)

9. If Negroes started to move into this neighborhood, which of these statements best describes the way you would feel?

- On the whole I don't think I would mind it very much at all.
- They might be good neighbors in many ways, but there would probably be some things I would not like about it.
- On the whole, I do not think I would like it at all.

What are the things you would

MAYOR AND MANAGER

not like about it?

11. What would you say are the biggest problems faced by Negroes and Puerto Ricans in Newark today? (Be sure respondent indicates who is responsible for problems)

15. Do you think the school system should do more or less than it does now in mixing children of different races in the city schools, or do they handle things about right now?

More

Less

About right now

Don't know

(If more or less) Why do you feel this way?

21. Which of these kinds of contacts with Negroes have you ever had?

Employed a Negro servant or worker?

Yes

No

Worked with a Negro who did the same kind of work you did?

Yes

No

Belonged to a group or club, like a church group, PTA, neighborhood club, or anything else with Negro members?

Yes

No

What groups?

Paid social calls on Negroes or had them in your own home socially?

Yes

No

(If yes to social calls) How often do you do this? Would you say it was:

Once a week or more often

Every 2 or 3 weeks

Every few months

Once or twice a year

Or less often

(If children under 21 in family ask) Do your children have any Negro friends (playmates)?

22. Do you mostly agree or mostly disagree with each of the following?

Mostly agree

Mostly disagree

It would be a good idea if business concerns:

Would limit the number of Negroes they hire?

Mostly agree

Mostly disagree

In general, it would be a good idea to keep Negroes from moving into white neighborhoods.

Mostly agree

Mostly disagree

It would be a good idea if Negroes were prevented from getting more political power than they now have.

Mostly agree

Mostly disagree

In general, Negroes should not be allowed to hold high political offices.

Mostly agree

Mostly disagree

24. Which one of these statements comes closest to the way you feel about Negroes? (Check one)

I would accept Negroes as close personal friends

I would accept Negroes only so far as having them as speaking acquaintances.

I do not want to have anything to do with Negroes.

25. Do you yourself feel that landlords and property owners should be allowed to get together in their neighborhood and agree not to rent apartments or sell houses to certain minority groups?

Yes

No

31. Which of the following statements do you think is true? When Negroes first start to buy homes in a neighborhood which is mostly white,

They have to pay more for their homes than white people

They pay less for their homes than white people

There is no difference in what they pay compared to whites

(If more or less) Why do you think this is so?

32. Which of the following statements do you think is true? When Negroes buy homes in a neighborhood which is mostly white,

Property values go up

Property values go down

Property values do not change

(If up or down) Why do you think this is so?

QUESTIONNAIRE FINDINGS

These are but a few of the questions which will be asked of 4,000 heads of households in every section of the city. When all of the data is collected, the analysts and social scientists at Market Planning Corporation will produce a book which should give us more information about the thoughts, needs and plans of the people of Newark than any other city in the United States has accumulated to date.

What will these research findings mean to Mayor Carlin and the city administration? Naturally, the answer is totally dependent upon the information given in answer to the questions. To estimate or predict the outcome of this research would be unscientific. However, we may certainly assume that the facts and findings elicited from this scientific sampling of the citizenry will give an intensive x-ray into the feelings and thoughts of the people who live here.

Is this kind of information not a realistic concern in the reconstruction of one of America's oldest urban centers? Is it in fact any less important to know how people relate to one another than to know how business and industry and the City Planning Commission are charting the physical future of "Our Town"?

Our commission sincerely believes in this questioning, humanitarian approach to the lives of our people. Our firm conviction is that personal happiness and satisfaction is just as important as the bricks and mortar and physical facade of a "New Newark."

A natural question at this point might well be asked by the mayor or manager of a city who is not yet oriented to human relations values: "Are such surveys and investigations likely to stir up trouble and cause problems where none previously existed?" To be sure, there is some

The congregation of Newark's Mt. Zion Baptist Church selected a white minister to assist its Negro pastor.



Newark Library's pre-school program reflects the composition of integrating neighborhoods.



danger that one or two deeply-bigoted individuals will respond negatively to the thought that interviewers are prying into their beliefs and feelings. We think, however, that the positive values as interpreted by the majority of respondents will greatly outweigh any negative thoughts provoked in the minds of the prejudiced few.

Finally, is an expenditure of city funds justified for this kind of sociological research into the behavior and ideas of people? Our answer must be an unqualified "yes", even before we know the results of the community audit. The history of our nation is unfortunately a rather bleak psychological picture of "native-born Americans" escaping to the

suburbs or climbing the ladder of social success to avoid living with people they just don't want their children to be brought up with.

NEW ATTITUDES NEEDED

If we are ever to achieve our much vaunted ideal of American freedom and democracy in our current competition for world acceptance and leadership, some answers must be found which will enable America to hold its head high once again and face those three-fifths of the earth's population, who happen to be people of color, and who can't understand what's going on in Little Rock, U.S.A.

What's good for American democracy ought to be equally good for America's economy; but so far, the great bulk of the real estate fraternity in our country has not accepted this thesis. I submit that unless our federal and state governments help to convince our home-building and home-selling industries of the basic facts of life, we may be well on our way toward losing that world leadership which we have earned at such tremendous cost in life and limb, through three wars fought in the name of democracy, which is not living up to its own standards.

COORDINATE ACTION

In summary, the problem as it exists today, cannot be solved entirely by the mayor or manager operating alone. He needs the assistance of all people.

1. State legislatures should pass laws which make it possible for any person to move into any part of the city or any suburb he can afford. If states don't act, then cities should.

2. The real estate fraternity should either prove its age-old myth of property devaluation or start operating on the 1958 facts of life, which show conclusively that the Negro market is the fastest growing source of new income in our country and that the Negro home buyer is just as good a risk as his white neighbor.

3. State legislatures and city governments should re-examine and re-evaluate the policies of local banking, mortgage and loan institutions in an effort to give the Negro the same opportunity as the white man in similar financial ventures.

4. All of the educational and humanitarian resources of every town, city and state must be mobilized to help eradicate the American cultural myth of the inferiority of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italian and other ethnic groups which have traditionally been relegated to a second-class economic and social citizenship.

Finally, if Americans truly wish to maintain their exalted position of world leadership, each one of us in his own way must begin to practice that brand of democracy which we as a nation have been preaching to the rest of the world. If this is done, changing neighborhoods will truly begin to exemplify our Bill of Rights and the Golden Rule, which once were considered the keystone of the American way of life. When that day comes, any American will move into any home he can afford in any suburb or city in our land; schools will then be naturally integrated; people will learn to live together in understanding and peace; superiority and inferiority will become terms of valid measurement relating to a man's worth and not stigmatic reference to his race, religion or nation of origin.

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